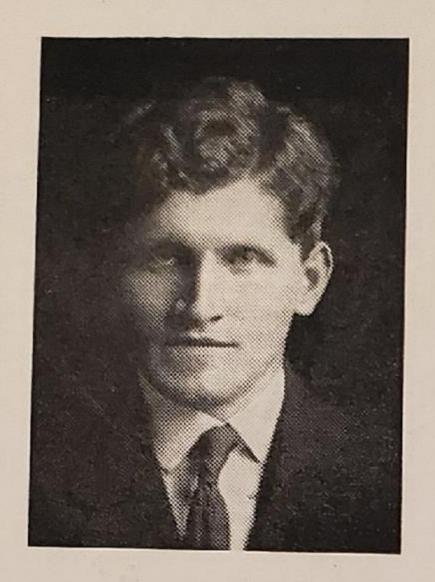
# JUSTICE BY MEANS OF DEMOCRACY: POLITICAL ECONOMY AND THE FOUNDATIONS OF HEALTH

DANIELLE ALLEN-NAS SEMINAR- JAN 2025

# ORIGINS







#### The Debate

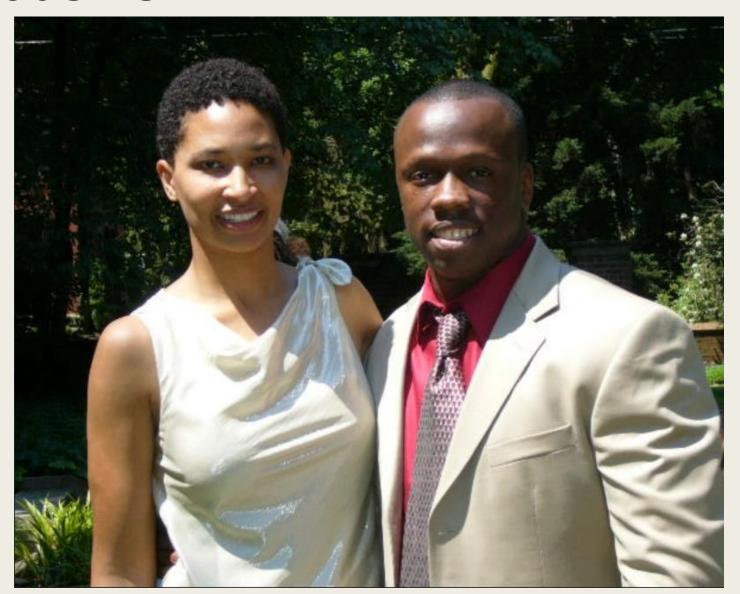


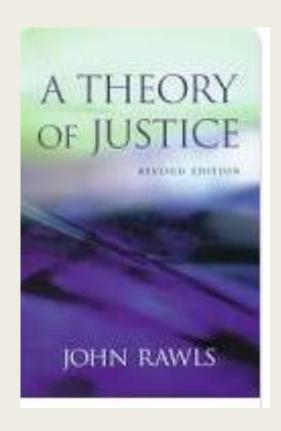
Danielle Allen with her parents in the mid 1970s. (Danielle Allen)

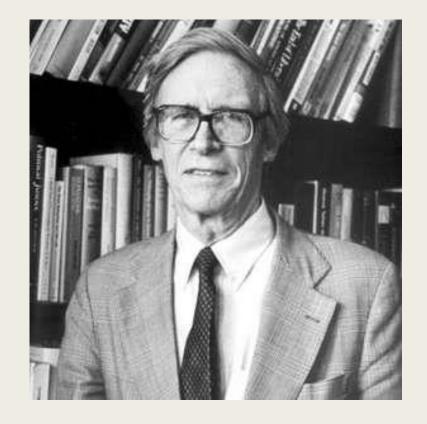


Danielle Allen's aunt Roslyn, shown in the early 1980s. (Danielle Allen)

#### The Cousins



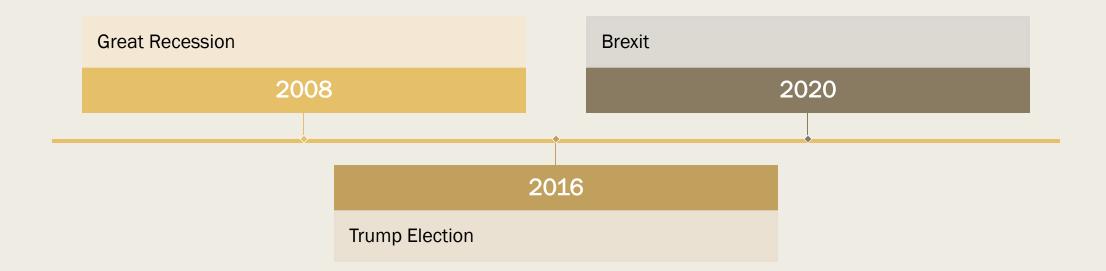




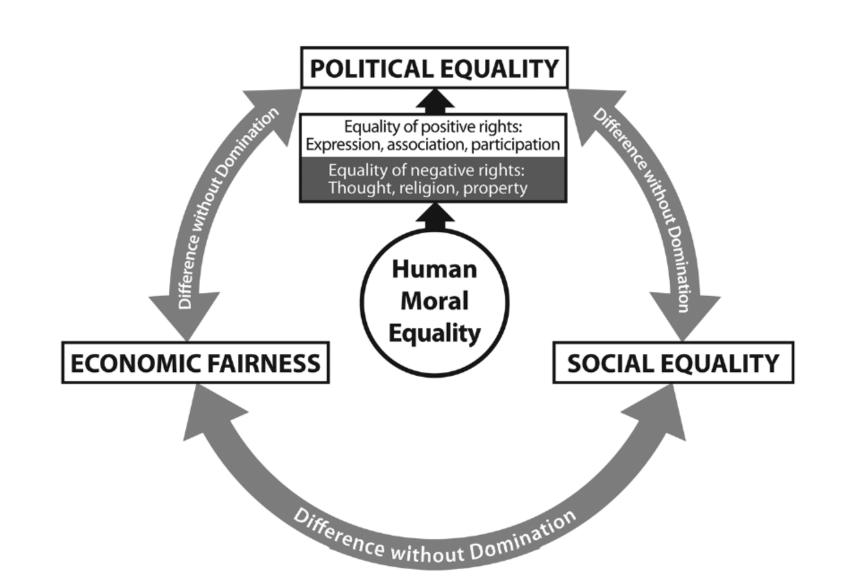
Rawlsian welfarism/ neoliberal utilitarianism

JOHN RAWLS, 1921-2002 THEORY OF JUSTICE, 1971

#### Connected to policy blindspots...



## AN ALTERNATIVE



# JUSTICE

BY MEANS OF

## Democracy

#### DANIELLE ALLEN

#### A new paradigm

From classical liberalism, social democratic liberalism, and neo-liberalism

To power-sharing liberalism

Rests on a theory of justice that starts from the non-sacrificeability of positive liberties

Democracy is needed for human flourishing; economic policy should support democracy.

#### Supporting Ideals:



EGALITARIAN CONSTITUTIONAL PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY



A CONNECTED SOCIETY



A POLYPOLITAN SOCIETY



**EMPOWERING ECONOMIES** 

# Subsidiary Ideal 4: Empowering Economies

To paraphrase George Marshall in his announcement of the post—World War II Marshall Plan, we need an economy that works—that delivers growth and productivity and stable transactions and prices (the opposite of Venezuela)— "so as to permit the emergence of political and social conditions in which *free institutions* can exist" (emphasis added). On my definition, free institutions (chapters 3 and 4) will incorporate the principle of full inclusion. Consequently, the goal is not only a dynamic but also an inclusive economy—where all are empowered. There is no room for domination in this economy. But how is this achieved?

# Subsidiary Ideal 4: Empowering Economies

#### **DESIGN PRINCIPLES**

- Free-labor economy
- Investing in Bridging
- Foundation for Flourishing/ Supplyside Progerssivism: Housing, Transportation, Schools, Justice & Safety for All
- Democratic Steering of Economy
- Protection of negative and positive liberties

Most important challenge  $\rightarrow$  Developing capacity to solve public goods problems through varying combinations of market, civil society, and public sector resources.

Table 2: The normative foundations, economic model, emblematic policies, and economic vernacular of four paradigms

Normative foundations Economic model Emblematic policies Economic vernacular

Classical liberal

Keynesian-social democratic

Neo-liberal

Table 2: The normative foundations, economic model, emblematic policies, and economic vernacular of four paradigms

	Normative foundations	Economic model	Emblematic policies	Economic vernacular
Classical liberal	Order, rule utilitarianism, individual autonomy from traditional hierarchies and paternalism, equal dignity	Division of labour, specialization, competitive markets, comparative advantage, precursors of mechanism design; cardinal utility	Anti-tariff, anti-monopoly, complementarity of state-provided infrastructure and private investment	'It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, the baker that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest Nobody but a beggar chooses to depend on the benevolence of his fellow citizens': Smith. Additivity of 'moral sentiments' and material interests
Keynesian-social democratic	Security, fairness, shared affluence	Aggregate demand, paradox of thrift, solidarity wages, theory of the second best	Demand management, tax, transfer and public goods redistribution, unemployment insurance, egalitarian supply-side policies	Well-paid workers sustain demand. Saving is prudent for a family but not for a government when the economy is in recession. 'Same boat' solidarity
Neo-liberal	Negative (formal) freedom, procedural justice	Self-interest (individuals and government officials) and competitive markets. No interpersonal comparisons of utility. Pareto criterion.	School vouchers, 'negative income tax', 'Buy your own council house'. Privatize telecoms and utilities. Reduce barriers to international movements of goods and capital.	'The government that governs best, governs least.' Labour unions are special interest groups. 'There is no such thing as "society".' You get what you pay for. 'Choice', 'Exit', Individual responsibility.

Table 2: The normative foundations, economic model, emblematic policies, and economic vernacular of four paradigms

New paradigm

Social relations free from domination, equal dignity and voice, community, sustainability Power in principal—agent models; identity economics; increasing returns and multiple equilibria; Schumpeterian growth. Cardinal utility. Complementarity of 'moral sentiments' and material interests. Intrinsic motivation and cooperation as essential to a high-performance economy

Significant inheritance taxation with a partial civil society opt out; home price insurance to reduce risk exposure and democratize innovation; workplace rights and voice; substantial reform of IPR; competition for markets via corporate governance reform; telemedicine; alternative emergency response

'Real freedom for all', 'The cooperative species', good morals is good economics, 'Voice', 'Libertarians fail at inequality, statists fail at innovation', 'Shrinking capitalism', Difference without domination.

### FOUNDATIONS OF HEALTH



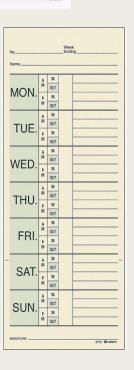
EMPOWERING ECONOMIES

Housing, Transportation, and Good Jobs

■ Work-life-civic balance

#### Justice

- Reclaiming the domain of health
- Using power-sharing approaches
- (work of Ben Barsky)





A CONNECTED SOCIETY

- Civic Education
  - Civic self-confidence, civic self-care, civic reciprocity
- Schools as Sites of Health
  - schools as sites of health, modernizing local public health offices, strengthening community health centers, and strengthening partnerships among all three
- "A community by everyone for everyone"
  - GenUnity



■ Vot-ER, work of Alister Martin

A **Heal** thier Democracy



- What does this all mean for health systems?
- Focus on power first, rather than allocation of health as a good
  - increase the power of public purchasers to negotiate fair prices on drugs
  - empower patients and community members with cost information to develop insight and voice in health care decisions and in collective reforms.
  - enforce pricing transparency requirements
  - accelerate development of provider capacity to employ value-based payment models
  - reduce unnecessary complexities of health care bureaucracies

Q&A